QUESTIONS ON

# THE BOLSHEVIKS

AND

# THE SOVIETS

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**ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS**

FAILED TO ANSWER AND

# THE ANSWERS

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

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Henry L. Slobodin

## The Great Russian Poet Balmont About Bolsheviks:

"They tear with slavering teeth at the hand which freed them. They declaim of freedom and throw their comrades into jails. They pose as poor and, themselves, taking money for blood, putting a coin value on their convictions, are wallowing in usury, extortion and bribery. They talk of brotherhood and, at the same time, are cutting throats."

# Save Sinking Russia!

By Leonid Andreiev

The Allied invitation to meet the Bolsheviki at Prinkipo is either madness or treachery towards Russia, differing from Judas' treachery only by its immensity.

If it is not Judas' treachery, it may be Pilate's washing his hands when Russia comes to her cross. We know who these Pilates are.

I appeal to you, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans, I appeal to all of you individually. I appeal to you, Americans, who yearn that the torch of your liberty should cast light on Europe. Come to us! Look and you will cry out with horror, and curse those deceivers who brought tyranny to the freedom-craving Russian people.

My last appeal is to you, writers of all nations! Support my prayer for those who perish. I appeal to those of you who write with their blood and nerves! Help us! Don't you understand the danger confronting mankind? Help Russia! Act immediately!

# Questions on the Bolsheviks

—AND—

# the Soviets and the Answers

## CHAPTER I.

### THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA

*What is the present government of Russia?*

A militaristic terrorism organized by Bolsheviks, a Socialist sect, whose hatred of all other Socialists is their chief characteristic.

This is what Gorky said of the Bolshevik methods:

"'For the period of the Revolution ten thousand lynchings have already been accounted for. . . . During the days of the progress of drunkenness human beings were shot down like dogs and the cold-blooded destruction of human lives came to be a commonplace daily occurrence. In the newspaper 'Pravda' the pogroms of the drunken mobs are written up as the 'provocative acts of the bourgeois,' which is clearly a misrepresentation, the employment of a pretty phrase which can only lead to the further shedding of blood.

"Theft and robbery are increasing from day to day. The practice of the art of taking bribes is becoming more and more widely introduced and our new officials already as well trained in the art as those who served under the Czar's government. The dubious individuals who assembled around the Smolny Institute do not even hesitate to intimidate the frightened citizens. They appear to be drunk with a sense of conquest and regard the citizens as if they

were conquered. . . . All this is done in the name of the 'proletariat,' in the name of the 'social revolution.' But in reality it represents only the triumph of the beast over man, the ascendency of the Asiatic spirit which still dwells among us."

*When was military terrorism established in Russia?*

At the time when the revolutionary government of Kerensky was overthrown and the Russian Constituent Assembly dispersed. The weakness of the Kerensky government was that it refused to employ force to protect itself. The Bolsheviks, on the contrary, armed the dregs of the population and with the aid of some soldiers captured the government.

The Russian Constituent Assembly, for which thirty-six millions votes were cast, attempted to assemble but was dispersed by a squad of armed soldiers sent by the Bolsheviks.

*What is the form of the Bolshevik government in Russia?*

An oligarchy of fanatics and criminals masquerading as Soviets and Commissars of the people. The Soviets were organized before the Bolsheviki overthrow; the Bolsheviks destroyed the Soviets, retaining the name for the purpose of deceiving the people in Russia and outside and for propaganda purposes. The Commissars are appointed by the Executive Committee and are the real rulers of Russia, over whom only Lenin and Trotzky have control.

Mr. Williams says that the Commissars are elected by the people. This is an error. They are appointed by the

Executive Committee. Mr. M. C. Eroshkin writes in "Struggling Russia":

"The idea of organizing a Soviet of Workmen's Deputies first originated in Petrograd, in October, 1905, with the Mensheviki faction of the Social-Democrats. The idea was supported by the Socialists-Revolutionists, but met with strong opposition from the Bolsheviki, who styled the creation of such organizations, 'the invention of semi-bourgeois parties to enthrall the proletariat in a partyless swamp.'

"When the second Revolution broke out in March, 1917, and it became necessary to hold together the revolutionary elements to keep them from becoming an uncontrollable avalanche, the Socialist factions of the State Duma and the committees of the Socialist parties of Petrograd at once, without regular elections, on March 23, organized the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, with Tcheidze, Kerensky and Sokolov at its head. Other Soviets began to be formed, after the pattern of the one in Petrograd, in all cities and factories where large numbers of workmen and soldiers were found. In May, 1917, there was also organized the first All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, led by Catherine Breshkovsky, Chernov, Avksentiev and Martiushin.

"The program of all these Soviets may be formulated in the following paragraphs:

" '1. To organize the revolutionary forces of the Russian people.

" '2. To organize and give expression to its political and social demands in connection with the Revolution.

" '3. To give support and aid to the Provisional Government in its task of co-ordinating the State machinery of the liberated country.

" '4. To concentrate the forces of the working masses, as the most interested in the preservation of the newly-won liberties.'

"But the fates had ordained otherwise. The Bolsheviki, true to their slogans, 'The dictatorship of the proletariat'—'All steam ahead for Socialism,' unfurled a new banner upon which was written 'All Power to the Soviets,' instead of 'All Power to the Constituent Assembly.'

"The Bolshevik, to whom the end has always justified the means, overthrew the government by armed force, dis-

persed the Constituent Assembly and proclaimed Russia a 'Federal Socialist Soviet Republic.'

"According to the Soviet Constitution, Russia is governed by Soviets of Deputies, elected by the secret, direct and equal vote of all the working masses. In fact, there never was either a secret election in Soviet Russia, or one based on equal suffrage. Elections are usually conducted at a given factory or foundry at open meetings, by the raising of hands and always under the knowing eye of the chairman. The majority of the workers very frequently do not take any part in these elections at all. The rights of a minority are never recognized, as proportional representation has been rejected.

As regards direct elections, it is again a mere phrase. The General Executive Committee, which is supposed to embody the supreme administration organ of the country, was actually being elected through a four-grade system. Local Soviets send their representatives to the Provincial Congress; the Provincial Congress is represented by delegates at the All-Russian Congress, and only this last body elects the Central Executive Committee. Often the delegates are not elected by the regular meetings of the Soviets at all, but are sent by the Executive Committees, cleverly handpicked by the Bolsheviki after the system of proportional representation was rejected.

"In this way the accepted electoral system of the Bolsheviki differs little from the ill-famed system of elections to the old State Duma, promulgated by the law of June 3, 1907, with the only essential difference that while that law was designed to elect only monarchists, this system is calculated to elect only Bolsheviki. The analogy does not end here. Just as under the old regime opponents of Tzarism were occasionally elected to the Duma in spite of the corrupt electoral system, so in the beginning of the the Bolshevist rule Socialists had their representatives in the Soviets. And, just as in the days of the Tzar, the minions of the Government would drive and banish the revolutionists to Siberia, so now the servants of His Majesty, Lenin, are filling the prisons with Socialists and are shooting them down.

"The exclusion from the Soviets of all who think differently from the Bolsheviki developed gradually. They 'cleansed' the Soviets in Perm and Ekaterinburg in January, 1918; in Ufa, Saratov, Samara, Kazan and Yaroslavl, in December, 1917; in Moscow and Petrograd in February, 1918. They were excluding all Socialists-Revo-

lutionists and the Mensheviki, to say nothing of the People's Socialists and members of the Labor Group. Often, when workers demanded new elections to the Soviet (as happened in Petrograd late in December of 1917, and early in January, 1918) and such elections did take place, the Bolsheviki would not permit the newly elected delegates to enter the building of the Soviet and frequently arrested them.

"So, practically, there remained only Bolsheviki in the Soviets. And as there was no difference of opinion among them, regular meetings were soon abandoned altogether and the ostensible 'rule of the working masses' thus definitely disappeared. A few persons, often appointed from above (the Bolsheviki often had recourse to bayonets to support the fiction of Soviet Rule; in Tumen the Executive Committee of a non-existent Soviet was brought from Ekaterinburg under a convoy of 800 Red Guards) would rule and lord it over the people, tired and weary of the war and a sterile social revolution.

"As time wore on the people here and there would rise against the Bolsheviki, until finally the Czecho-Slovaks gave this movement an organized form. Fronts were erected everywhere, and soon, instead of Executive Committees of Workmen's Deputies, there appeared in those regions of Soviet Russia, adjacent to these fronts, new 'administrative' organs, the so-called 'Military-Revolutionary Committees, which had nothing at all in common with the rule of the working masses.' These would consist of a group of two or three people, mostly members of Red Army organizations, who would take to themselves all 'civil and military powers' and would rule despotically over their virtual subjects.

"Occasional outbursts of popular wrath serve as indications of the depth of the dissatisfaction which is engendered by the Soviets and their offshoots, the Military Revolutionary Committees. Thus, in the Polevsky Works, in Ekaterinburg County, a mob of peasants, armed with axes, scythes and sticks, fell upon the Soviets and beastlike tore into fragments fifty Bolsheviki. In the Nevïansk Works the insurrection of the workers against the Red Army lasted for three days until reinforcements from Perm finally subdued this 'counter-revolutionary' revolt. In Okhansk County 2,000 peasants were shot down for demanding the abolition of the Soviets and the re-establishment of the rule of the people."

Mr. Eroshkin had exceptional opportunities for observation. He was chairman of the Perm Socialist Revolutionary party, held an office under Kerensky and was a member of Ural Provisional government.

*Whom do the Bolshevik Soviets represent?*

A small minority.

**"The government was captured by a minority—the Petrograd Soviet—contrary to the categorical decision of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Soviet of Workmen and Soldier Deputies and also the Central Committee of the Soviet of Peasant Deputies."—K. M. Oberouchev.**

*Did the working class of Russia ever select the Bolsheviks for leaders?*

Mr. Williams says they did. It is not true, and Mr. Williams knows it.

**"Elections to city councils and zemstovs, which took place on the basis of absolute freedom of voting in the summer of 1917 resulted all over Russia in the election of a crushing majority of Socialist-Revolutionaries. Elections to the Constituent Assembly which took place under the pressure and encroachments on the part of the Bolsheviks also gave a majority of Socialist Revolutionaries. This proves which is the people's party."—K. M. Oberouchev.**

Since then no general elections were permitted by the Bolsheviks. And local elections are held under conditions of terror.

*Is the Bolshevik a working class government?*

It is not. It is a sect government. The Bolshevik sect has a fanatical faith in one dogma—proletarian dictatorship. The real working class of Russia is opposed to

Bolshevism. The Bolshevik hold power by means of mercenary foreign troops and terror. The Bolshevik profession of "proletarian dictatorship" is merely a dogma. The real proletarians have no power in Bolshevik government. No proletarian holds power. Lenin, Trotzky, Sverdlov, Lunacharsky, Zinoviev, Torin, Tshitsherin, Uritski, Radek, are all intellectuals. In fact Lenin says that a dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean a working class government but just the opposite. Lenin wrote:

"The history of all countries witnesses that through its own exclusive effort the working class is able to work out only trade union consciousness, i. e., a conviction of the necessity to unite into unions, carry on a struggle with the employers, demand from the government various laws necessary for the workers, etc. The teaching of Socialism, on the other hand, grew out of those philosophic, historic and economic theories which have been worked out by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. The founders of modern scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels, belonged themselves, according to their social position, to the bourgeois intellectuals. Precisely so in Russia, the theoretical teaching of social democracy has originated absolutely independent of the elemental growth of the labor unions, originated as a rational and inevitable result of the intellectual development of the revolutionaries—Socialist intellectuals."

*How was the Soviet formed by the revolutionists destroyed by the Bolsheviks?*

It was organized first by the Socialist group of the Duma without the Bolsheviks. Later it became a central labor body to which, during the war, representatives from soldiers were admitted. These delegates were elected by active minorities. The Bolsheviks first expelled from

the Soviets all Socialists belonging to non-Bolshevik parties. Then they terrorized the workmen to elect Bolshevik delegates only. Finally they dissolved Soviets which refused to take orders from the Bolshevik Commissars.

Here is a note published in Izvestia, the official Bolshevik organ:

"Kazan, July 26th.—As the important offices in the Soviets were occupied by Socialist Revolutionaries of the Left, the Extraordinary Commission had dissolved the Provisional Soviet. The governmental power is now represented by a Revolutionary Committee."

The "Novaya Zhisn" published some facts which will remain facts even if Gorky should change his views several times again. Here are some:

"The Bolsheviki in Petrograd won through the votes of the unemployed, the red guards, artificially created organizations and alleged unions. The Soviets, at the point of the bayonet, arrested the opposition leaders, stopped meetings, suspended newspapers, and closed factories and workmen's clubs. In Obuchovsky and Nevsky districts martial law was proclaimed. Many workmen were arrested, patrols and armed automobiles still fill the districts."

*In what respect does the Bolshevik form of government differ from the American?*

Mr. Williams enumerates advantages of the Bolshevik form. Here are some he omitted:

(a) It excludes practically all of the women and most of the men from voting.

(b) A Bolshevik representative concerns himself

only with how to get more money printed and distributed among his constituency with as little work as possible.

(c) Being militaristic, it prevents all difference of opinion, discussion, etc.

(d) Instead of guaranteeing a protection, the Bolsheviks suppress all liberties.

Lenin said in his "Letter to American Workmen":

**"While the old bourgeois democratic constitution, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet republic repudiates the hypocrisy of formal equality of all human beings."**

Lenin's methods are simplicity itself: First, he declares every one but the Bolsheviks "bourgeois" and then he deprives them of all rights, after which they may be murdered, pillaged or raped *ad libitum*.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

*Was the Bolshevik revolution bloodless?*

Mr. Williams asserts few were killed—only one for one thousand population.

"Certainly, it is easy for Mr. Williams to speak of the insignificant number of useless victims sacrificed to the desire of a small group of people to capture power at all cost, at one to a thousand, i. e., twenty thousand corpses so far as the people are strangers to him and their interests are not dear to him. Mr. Williams insists that no one should interfere with Bolshevik experiments on the Russian people, but would not permit the American Bolsheviks to make the same experiment on the American people. Williams himself served as a hired Bolshevik soldier, and received 300 rubles a month, as did other mercenaries. Williams admits it. He served in the army which was murdering Russian people. We do not know whether he had an opportunity to kill Russian people who rose against the Bolshevik Government that hired him." K. M. Oberouchev.

We see how Williams and others found out about the Red Heart of Russia—by plunging a dagger into it.

*Can the Bolshevik Revolution be compared to the French Revolution or to the American Revolution?*

It cannot. The French overthrew an autocratic government. The Bolsheviks overthrew the greatest democracy in the world—a Constituent Assembly elected by thirty-six million votes. The French faced a world in arms in defence of their fatherland. The Bolshevik betrayed their country to the enemies.

The Americans fought for independence. The Bolsheviks sought to make Russia a vassal or colony of Germany. The Americans established a most advanced democracy. The Bolsheviks established the most barbarous tyranny.

*What about the All-Russian Soviet?*

The original All-Russian Soviet repudiated the Bolsheviks. After the overthrow of Kerensky by the Bolsheviks, the Central Committee of the All-Russian Soviet repudiated the Bolsheviks and the Central Committee of the All-Russian Peasants Soviets also repudiated the Bolsheviks. Both Soviets were dispersed by force. Then the usurpers proceeded to organize a Bolshevik All-Russian Soviet.

The delegates to the Bolshevik All-Russian Soviet were elected under conditions of terror. Freedom of speech, press and assembly were completely suppressed. A non-Bolshevik utterance was an offense visited by summary execution. This Soviet has become Lenin's shop window and propaganda slogan.

*What did the Bolsheviks do to sacrifice several hundred thousand lives of allied and American soldiers?*

They broke down the Eastern war front held by Russian troops and made a separate peace with Germany. They carried on a Bolshevik propaganda in the allied countries. This propaganda caused the Italian defeat at Caporetto. They prolonged the war for almost one year. This cost one million lives.

*How did the Bolsheviks demobilize?*

**"Demobilization was carried through so that soldiers sold to Germans, cannons, horses, rifles and everything else that the Germans found useful in their attack on the western front. Canons and ammunition on the Russian front made by the labor of English, French and American workmen were turned over to the Germans and with these cannons the Germans were killing the very English, French and American workmen who made them, and were now in the army on the western front."—K. M. Oberouchev.**

*What are some of the things which the Bolshevik Government has accomplished?*

First: It encouraged land grabbing by armed mobs and made land nationalization much more difficult.

Second: A small number of peasants got land. The majority wait in dumb and impotent rage for an opportunity to fall upon the more fortunate and punish them for "cheating."

Third: It organized an army of Lettish, Chinese, Finnish, Magyar and German mercenaries, as well as Russians conscripted by hunger and terror—all commanded by German and Czar's officers.

Fourth: It came to the aid of German militarism and delayed its defeat.

Fifth: It proscribed the teachers and all intellectuals and closed the schools. It suppressed newspapers and other printed matter except Bolshevik. It persecuted scientists and artists and destroyed art and science in Russia.

Sixth: It destroyed industries and dispersed the workingmen from the cities.

Seventh: By making a separate peace with Germany, it prolonged the European war at least one year.

Eighth: It starved and is starving the population of Russia.

*How did the Bolsheviks co-operate with the gendarmes, spies and officers of the Czar in their attack on Russian democracy?*

Schneour led the Bolsheviks against General Duchonin in charge of great headquarters and assassinated him for refusing to negotiate a separate peace, and became later a Bolshevik delegate to Brest-Litovsk.

*Schneour* was disclosed to be a spy and provocator of the Czar's government.

*Mouraviev,* who commanded the Bolshevik army against Ukraine and later on the Volga front, was a police official under the Czar.

*Colonel Bauman,* who led the Bolshevik soldiers against Kerensky, was chief of gendarmes under the Czar.

*General Globitshev,* the head of the secret service Ochrana of the Czars, became the head of the secret service under Bolshevik Uritzki.

*General Komisarov,* a notorious reactionary, was put in charge of an important office at Smolny.

*General Klimovitch,* former Director of the police department, who organized the assassination of Yoloss, a member of the Duma, was put in charge of the Imperial Bank by the Bolsheviki.

*Soukhmlinov,* Minister of War who betrayed the Rus-

sian armies to German slaughter, was liberated by the Bolsheviki.

But General Bialetski, who unmasked Malinovski, the Czar's agent and provocator and particular friend of Lenin, was kept in prison.

*What did the Bolsheviks do to arouse in Russia hatred against America?*

They spread the rumor that one Muni, a Bolshevik, was executed by the American capitalists. The case was of Thomas Mooney convicted on perjurious testimony. Mooney is not a Bolshevik. Nor is he a Socialist. President Wilson intervened in his behalf.

Led by Bolsheviks and anarchists a mob attempted an attack on the American Embassy. They were met by Ambassador Francis, who, pistol in hand, prevailed upon them to change their minds.

*How did the Bolsheviks take over the factories and mines?*

There was no system or method in taking the industries from the owners. "Nationalization" consisted mostly in the worst elements among the workmen seizing plants and running them to ruin.

The report of Bolshevik Labor Commissar published in "Novaya Zhisn" states:

**"Maltzev works made 600 railway wagons monthly. Now only from 24 to 30 are made. In the Kolomensky works expenses are five and a half million rubles and the value of the products only half a million."**

The Bolshevik organ "Pravda" reports: "Kolomensky factories closed owing to want of fuel."

The Bolshevisk organ "Bednota" reports:

"There are hundreds of factories in Razan Government. They are all idle at present because some of them were pillaged and gutted; others were abandoned by the owners, while in the remaining factories the work could not go on for various reasons."

But to save themselves from total industrial ruin, Lenin and his cohorts are grasping at the one means known to them—dictatorship. Lenin advocates a dictator for every industry.

In his pamphlet entitled "Problems of the Soviet Government," Lenin says:

"Every great industry—that is, the material productive source and basis of Socialism—demands the unconditional and most severe unity of will directing the co-ordination of work of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of men. . . . But how can the most severe unity of will be secured? By subjecting the will of thousands to the will of one."

"Uncontradictory subjection to one will is absolutely necessary for the success of the labor process organized in a great machine plant. For the railroads this is doubly and trebly necessary." Idem.

"It is necessary to apply and make experiments with piece work; apply much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system." Idem.

"The Russian is a poor worker in comparison with other nations." Idem.

This is the proletarian paradise that Lenin is preparing for the Russian workmen. Bolshevik leader, Bucharin, in his "Program of the Communists" seconds Lenin's plans of compulsory labor. Says Bucharin:

"In the degree as the organization of production takes place and the conditions for work are created, in that degree will be introduced into life compulsory labor, that is, the calling to compulsory social labor of all able-bodied elements.

"In order that all the forces of society may be utilized, compulsory labor becomes necessary which the working class (?) will introduce sooner or later."

The notorious Bolshevik Zinoviev laid down the law at the Russian Trade Union Congress that the trade unions must "Become organs of Bolshevik authority."

Bolshevism is the most amazing attempt to enslave the working class by means of high-sounding phrases. In his letter to American workingmen, Lenin states boldly: "Our constitution disregards the hypocrisy of equality."

This is the sort of emancipation of the proletariat that Bolshevism offers. How blind and deluded must a workman be to fall into the Bolshevik trap!

*Why does Bolshevism endure in Russia?*

First there were millions of idle soldiers from the front, of idle workmen from munition factories, who listened willingly to the Bolshevik incitement to pillage and murder.

Subsequently, the Bolsheviks organized mercenaries: Mongolians, Finns, Chinese, Magyars; also Letts and Germans, all officered by officers of the Czar.

The Russian people were war-weary, decimated and hungry. The people's will was exhausted. They could not resist.

*Were the Bolsheviks always opposed to the Russian Constituent Assembly and democracy?*

No, on the contrary. One of their chief arguments against Kerensky was that he delayed calling the Constituent Assembly.

As far back as 1905, Lenin wrote:

"The revolutionary proletariat, in so far as it is led by the social democracy, demands the complete transfer of authority to the Constituent Assembly. . . . Someone must convene the Constituent Assembly. . . . Only a revolutionary government, which is an organ of revolt, can sincerely desire it and be in a position to do everything for its fulfillment."

Of the revolutionary government, Lenin said:

"It must be the instrument for convening an All-Russian Constituent Assembly."

In the catechisis about Political Parties published after the revolution, Lenin asks:

"Shall the Constituent Assembly be convened?" And answers: - "It shall, as soon as possible."

Lenin continued to maintain this position. In July, 1917, Lenin wrote:

"In a free country the people are governed by those whom they elect for that purpose."

And again:

"Only that authority will be stable at time of popular revolution which rests deliberately and unconditionally on the majority of the population."

But with power in his control Lenin at once changed his mind. Lenin declared:

"The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party. Since March, 1917, the word democracy is simply a shackle fastened upon the revolutionary nation."

And in his letter to American workmen, Lenin says:

"The Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of formal equality of all human beings."

Can there be any doubt that the Bolsheviks are traitors to democracy and are planning the greatest tyranny that ever existed?

*What did the Bolshevik Government do to Russian agriculture?*

"What concerns cultivation of land taken from large landowners, over half of the land in the Volga region was not cultivated and not alone for want of implements and seed, but also because the peasants were not secure that they will enjoy the fruit of their labor, and did not find it necessary to till the fields which will be devoured by red guards and punitive expeditions."—K. M. Oberouchev.

"The majority of soil-tillers have no influence whatever over the village affairs. They are governed by commissars who are, in most cases, young good-for-nothings. In fact, they are only robbing and persecuting the toilers.

"The peasants often ask: Why are the workers silent? Why don't they give the signal to revolt against such oppressions?

"And that is the reason why the mass of the peasants are against us."—Izvestia.

*What did Oscar Tokoi say of the Bolsheviks?*

Oscar Tokoi was the first and only Socialist Prime Minister of Finland. After the overthrow by Germans and white guards, he went to Russia to work with the Bolsheviks. In a short time he abandoned the Bolsheviks and published what he saw of them. Says Tokoi:

"In comparison with the entire population only a small minority supports the Government, and, what is worse, to the supporters of the Government are rallying all the hooligans, robbers, and others to whom this period of confusion promises a good chance of individual action."

## CHAPTER III.

### RUSSIA REPUDIATES BOLSHEVISM

*Why does Colonel William B. Thompson praise the Bolsheviks?*

God knows.

Colonel Thompson when in Russia gave money to Breshkovskaya to fight the Bolsheviks. In America he fought for the Bolsheviks. Evidently, the Bolshevik attraction for Colonel Thompson is in direct proportion to the square of the distance dividing them.

*What does the "dictatorship of the proletariat" mean?*

In Socialist teachings and literature it always meant that when the wage workers will become the majority of the population, they will come in control of the government. It never meant rule by minority. Karl Marx said in the Communist Manifesto:

**"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority."**

But Arthur Ransome, another Bolshevik propagandist, justifies the rule of the Bolsheviks thus:

**"In every country it is only the small minority that concerns itself with politics."**

Said Wilhelm Liebknecht in his "Socialism, What It Stands For":

**"For this the social democracy strives. In place of the**

present class rule we will constitute a free government of the people.

"The clear statement of our party program stamps as a slander the assertion of our opponents that Socialism will secure the ruling power in the state for the laboring class. We have already said that the idea of mastery is above all undemocratic and consequently in opposition to the principles of Socialism. All demands for liberty made by democracy are likewise demands of the social democracy."

Williams repudiates Liebknecht; Ransome repudiates Marx. And the Socialist mob applauds.

*What has become of the Russian proletariat under Bolshevism?*

With the collapse of industries, many Russian workmen in great cities were starved to death, many dispersed into villages as food peddlers, and many more joined the red guards. Karl Kautsky pointed out that the Bolshevik so-called proletarian dictatorship in fact deproletariarized Russia.

The Bolshevik Labor Commissar made the following report in 1918:

"These official figures refer to 91 per cent of all workers in Petrograd from January 21, 1917, to April 1, 1918, and show that in 832 factories only 144,000 workers remained in Petrograd on the second date out of 365,000.

"Of those who left, the vast majority, 176,000 went away in January-March, 1918—that is, in the second, third and fourth months of the Bolshevik regime. Of 245,000 metal workers only 64,000 remained on April 1, 1918; of 23,000 chemical workers only 5,000; of 39,000 textile workers 29,000 remained on April 1; but this figure was greatly diminished during the course of the month."

"In the government Ivano-Vosnesensk all factories will be worked by means of peat. We have immense marshes in the vicinity which must be nationalized. On a portion

of these marshes four steam machines for the extraction of peat are already working."—Bednota (Poverty), September 21, 1918.

"The contingent of state construction has accorded five million rubles for continuing the work of the lines Petrograd-Novogorod, Louga-Novogorod and Voldai-Novogorod." —Pravda (Truth), September 20, 1918.

These attempts of "nationalization" of Russian bogs for restoration of industries and the appropriation of an armful of printed paper for the construction of hundreds of miles of railroad is pitiful rouge on the cheeks of Bolshevism. Nationalization of marshes is on a par with nationalization of the undertaking business. It betrays bottomless stupidity and helplessness.

*Did the Russian peasants repudiate Bolshevism?*

They did, in the All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies. In the hundreds of uprisings against the red guards. In refusing to cultivate land. In burying and even destroying food rather than feed the Bolsheviks.

*What is the difference between our Cabinet and the Council of People's Commissars?*

Mr. Williams answers that, unlike our Cabinet, "The People's Commissars are elected by the people (?)." Mr. Williams is in error. Paragraph 35 of chapter 7 of the Bolshevik so-called Constitution provides that "the All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars." There is no provision for removal for cause or otherwise.

*How did the Bolsheviks treat "Baboushka" Breshkovsky and Marie Spiridonova?*

The "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution" went into hiding from the Czar's spies and gendarmes now in the Bolshevik red guards who were vigorously searching for her. She succeeded in escaping and is now in the United States telling the truth about the Bolsheviks. Mr. Williams, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Robbins and other parlor Bolsheviks who find Bolshevism "good for Russia" would do well to learn the truth from Baboushka.

Marie Spiridonova is confined by the Bolsheviks in a jail or lunatic asylum. Having denounced the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, she was reviled publicly by Lenin as an immoral woman. "She gave up her virtue without even pay." Lenin derided her in the All-Russian Soviet. Spiridonova was arrested after the assassination of Mirbach, together with 200 other Socialist Revolutionaries. Only a vigorous protest of Moscow workingmen saved her from execution.

*What is the attitude of the Socialist leaders of the world towards Bolshevism?*

There is not one noted Socialist who is pro-Bolshevik. H. Hyndman, Arthur Henderson of England, Karl Kautsky, Edward Bernstein, Hugo Haase of Germany, Renaudel, Thomas Sembat of France, Emil Vandervelde of Belgium, and a host of other Socialists have all con-

demned Bolshevism. There are some, like Longuet of France and Adler of Austria, who are willing to give it a trial "in Russia." Just like our own Robinses, Thompsons and Williamses, who find it "good for Russia," but "politically and morally wrong" for the United States, where their own fortunes are invested.

*What was the attitude of the Socialist International Conference held at Berne, Switzerland, in February, 1919, towards Bolshevism?*

Delegates from twenty-seven nations met, investigated and discussed Bolshevism and condemned it four to one as anti-democratic, anti-Socialist and counter-revolutionary. The Bolsheviks were branded as traitors to everything they once professed.

*Who are the Bolsheviks in America?*

With few exceptions, they were noted for their pro-Germanism or pacifism during the war. Victor Berger of Milwaukee is a type. He gloried in the German devastation of Serbia. He advocated war with Mexico, Japan, anyone to help Germany. Now he is a pro-Bolshevik.

Many of the quondam pacifists are now in ecstasies over Bolshevik bloodletting. They are living in a world of romance. Bolshevik pillage and murder is the manifestation of a great elemental force. Bolshevik bloody hands are baby pink. Nothing is real. There are two Bolshevisms, Lenin's Bolshevism, which is frankly mur-

derous and destructive, and the Bolshevism of Lackwell and Lackmind, youths often gifted and always weak stirred by a formless idealism or aimless discontent. This Bolshevism is often rigged out as a revolutionary firebrand and introduced to the prospectors for local color in The Village and to habitues of radical propaganda resorts. Thus it has a peculiar attraction for congenital defectives in quest of motives in journalism or literature.

Bolshevism has also a fascination for many well-meaning but ill-advised plutocrats. Accustomed to draw their daily profits and dividends from tenements and sweatshops, bone and sinew of American labor, without the slightest increase in the tremor of the heart, this organ bleeds profusedly anent the long-suffering Russians. Bolshevism for the United States? God forbid. Call a policeman! But Bolshevism is "good for Russia."

*Why are some Americans favoring the Bolsheviks?*

They think the Soviet is a new form of advanced democracy. And they think Russia is governed by Soviets. Both propositions are false. The Soviets were originally central labor bodies. Now Russia is governed not by Soviets but by Commissars. The Soviets serve as a mask.

*Why do the Russian Intelligentsia (educated classes) repudiate Bolshevism?*

The Russian Intelligentsia carried on an age-long struggle against the Czar for popular rights. The Bolsheviks incited the mob against the intelligentsia. The

Bolsheviks instituted pogroms against all non-Bolsheviks who showed signs of education. Their women and children were not spared.

But the intelligentsia repudiate Bolshevism not alone because of the persecutions it suffers, but mainly because it leads the people to death and ruin; because Bolshevism is destroying not alone the material wealth but also the spiritual riches of the people—the desire for freedom, for love and co-operation. Instead it incites hatred to knowledge and progress and those who teach them.

Repin, one of the world's greatest painters, died of hunger. Lopatin, one of Russia's greatest sons, died of hunger. Professor Lappo-Danilavsky, Professor Smirnov, met a similar fate. All who stood for Russian science and art, for the soul of Russia, are proscribed, murdered and starved.

*Why are Chinese companies included in every Bolshevik regiment?*

"It is known that the Chinese are a part of the 'red' army. They are considered as part of the 'conscious proletariat' and are one of the main supports of Lenin's throne, i. e., Lenin's Soviet Republic. They are used as executioners of the Russian people in cases where the Russian red guards refuse to carry out executions."—K. M. Oberouchev.

These Chinese "idealists," like Mr. Williams, are exploring the Red Heart of Russia.

It is to be noted that before the Bolsheviks these Chinese "idealists" were employed on the Mourmansk Railroad.

*Bolsheviks Plan to Annihilate Ten Million Men.*

The following quotation from a speech of one of the most active Bolshevist leaders, Zinoviev, printed in the "Northern Commune" of September 19, 1918, fully expresses the spirit of the Bolshevist terrorism:

**"To overcome our enemies we must have our own Socialist Militarism. We must win over to our side 90 millions out of the 100 millions of population of Russia under the Soviets. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them; they must be annihilated.**

*Did the Bolsheviks introduce capital punishment?*

They did more. They introduced wholesale murder of the population regardless of age or sex and without bringing any charges or accusation. Suspicion was sufficient or to be a father, mother, brother, sister, wife or child of a suspect was enough. They were shot on the spot. (See Trotzky's Decree No. 903.)

## CHAPTER IV.

### BOLSHEVIK BLACK TERROR

"Decree No. 903 (signed Trotzky).—Seeing the increasing number of deserters, especially among the commanders, orders are issued to arrest as hostages all the members of the family one can lay hands on: father, mother, brother, sister, wife and children."—Izvestia of Moscow, 18 Sept., 1918.

All anti-Bolshevists are for some reason called "bunglers." Bunglers are shot.

"Shooting the bunglers.—The Soviet of Vitebsk has decided as to the shooting of the bunglers, condemnations to death, are issued by the extraordinary committee and will be ratified by the president of the aforesaid committee."—Bednota, 17 Sept., 1918.

The Izvestia of Oct. 19, No. 228, gives a report of a meeting of the Conference of the Extraordinary Commission:

"Comrade Bokiy gave details of the work of the Petrograd District Commission since the evacuation of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Moscow. The total number of arrested persons was 6,220. Eight hundred were shot."

"Atkarsk, Sept. 11.—Yesterday martial law was proclaimed in the town. Eight counter-revolutionaries were shot."—Northern Commune, Sept. 12, No. 103.

"A riot occurred in the Kirsanoff district. The rioters shouted 'Down with the Soviets!' They dissolved the Soviet and the Committee of the Village Poor. The riot was suppressed by a detachment of the Soviet troops. Six ringleaders were shot. The case is under examination.—Izvestia, Nov. 5, No. 242.

"In a report of the meeting of the Central Executive Council of the Moscow Soviet, which took place on Oct. 16, we read (evening edition of the Izvestia, Oct. 17, No. 75):

" 'The report of the work of the All-Russian Extraordi-

nary Commission was read at a Secret Session of the Central Executive Committee.' "

The morning issue of the Izvestia, Oct. 17, No. 226, in a report of the same meeting, dots the 'i' by stating:

"Then a report was made about the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee. Both the report and the discussion of it were proceeded with in camera and will not be published. After a debate the doors of the Session Hall were reopened for the public."

The following is the decision of the Council of People's Commissaries of Sept. 5 (Northern Commune, Sept. 9, evening edition, No. 100):

"The Council of the People's Commissaries, having considered the report of the chairman of the Extraordinary Commission, found that under the existing conditions it was most necessary to secure the safety of the rear by means of terror. To strengthen the activity of the Extraordinary Commission, and render it more systematic, as many responsible party comrades as possible are to be sent to work on the Commission. The Soviet Republic must be made secure against its class enemies by sending them to concentration camps.

"All persons belonging to White Guard organizations or involved in conspiracies and rebellions are to be shot."

*Did Ukrania, Siberia and the Balkan Provinces want separation from Russia?*

"Before the November counter-revolution there was no necessity for separation and there was no demand for separation. The Provisional Government always recognized the freedom of self-determination and the widest autonomy for all peoples of Russia. The only limitation was that nothing should be done impairing the fighting front against Austria and Germany.

"Upon capturing the power, the Bolsheviks, although recognizing in phrase the right to self-determination, in fact violated every right of the many nationalities in Russia. They declared that they recognize no frontiers or

nationalities. Thereby they compelled nationalities like Ukrania to declare for separation.

"But this does not mean that these nationalities desire permanent separation from Russia.

"When normal conditions will be established in Russia, all parts into which Russia has fallen will again come together, but not after the old form. Rather will they follow the form of the United States and establish a democratic republic in the land which was once called Russia."—K. M. Oberouchev.

*Who is General K. M. Oberouchev?*

Thirty years ago he was sent as a revolutionist to Peter and Paul Fortress. Organized first Soviets in Ukraine. Elected by Soviets of Kiev first military commissar and then commander of army of Kiev Circuit. Elected by Central Committee of All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies as delegate to Copenhagen Conference for exchange of prisoners. Oberouchev says:

"Soviet government is aristocratic, not democratic. Right before my eyes the level of the Soviet was becoming lower. And finally they arrived at a condition well characterized by the Lenin's formula."

General Oberouchev refers to Lenin's statement at the Third Soviet Conference: "Among one hundred so-called Bolsheviks there is *one* real Bolshevik, thirty-nine criminals and sixty fools."

*Who was Uritski?*

"During the Bolshevik uprising in November, 1917, I was in Copenhagen as delegate of Soviet of Peasant Depu-

ties to the conference on the exchange of prisoners. . . . When it became known in Copenhagen that Uritski was appointed People's Commissar, everyone was saying: 'Now we know who the Bolsheviks are. If Uritski, who resided here and had to escape, as he was in trouble with the criminal courts because of the crime of swindling of which he was accused, can be appointed to such a responsible position, it stands to reason that no one can trust these people.' "—K. M. Oberouchev.

## CHAPTER V.

### KERENSKY GOVERNMENT

*What the Kerensky government did for Russia.*

The Provisional Government considered its function only to steer the country to a Constituent Assembly without attempting fundamental changes. Yet it proclaimed the following reforms:

1. Full freedom of speech, conscience, assembly and press.

2. Freedom of religion.

3. Widest local and national autonomy.

4. Amnesty of political convicts.

5. Abolition of capital punishment. Although capital punishment was again legally introduced at the front, but not one man suffered this penalty during the Kerensky regime.

6. Woman suffrage.

7. Introduction of a most democratic form of elections, including local autonomy, proportional representation, etc.

8. Preparing a series of fundamental laws, including nationalization of land and confiscation of the land of large landowners.

9. Introduced an eight-hour labor law and organized shop committees of employees of shops and factories to take part in their management.

10. Drafted an election law for Constituent Assembly with participation of all citizens without distinction of sex, creed or race.

11. Full equality for Jews.

12. Many other reforms, all destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

*What Kerensky government did to convoke the Constituent Assembly?*

The very first days after the revolution a commission was appointed to draft a law guaranteeing universal franchise. It was a complicated problem considering that the soldiers at the front had to be included. Elections and opening of Assembly were fixed for September, 1917.

Municipal elections were fixed for May, but had to be postponed at the request of the Soviet. Owing to this the September elections had also to be postponed. The new election law was published in September. Again some changes had to be made at request of Soviets. Elections to Assembly were fixed for November 12 to 25. And convocation for November 28 to December 11, 1919.

*Can the Russian land problem be solved by political decrees or confiscation?*

It cannot. The area of European Russia is 2,200,000 square miles with 135 millions population served by 45 thousand miles of third-rate railroad.

Compare this with the three million square miles of

the United States (exclusive of Alaska) with 105 million people and 265 thousand first-class railroads.

The average land allotment for peasant court is 25 acres. But as the northern provinces of Archangelsk Vologda, Perm, Olonetsk and Vialka have a great excess of land, the average of the other provinces is much lower. The peasant cultivates his land after the manner of his forefathers at the time of Ivan the Terrible.

The average American farm is 140 acres, cultivated with best agricultural implements in the world.

There are about 400 million acres of state land. But nine-tenths of the land is situated in the northern provinces where only one-tenth of the peasants live.

The only solution of the land problem in Russia is building 200 thousand miles of railroad; reform of method of agriculture and deforestation and draining on a gigantic scale.

*Is there a proletarian dictatorship in Russia?*

There is not. Lenin-Trotzky use the phrase to deceive the world. In fact the Russian workmen are oppressed as never before. There is not one proletarian in the Bolshevik government. Lenin, Trotzky, Jverdlov, Lunacharsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Tshitsherin, Joffe and dozens of lesser lights—not one among them who has done a day's work in shop, mine, field or factory.

On the other hand Schneour, Mouraviev, Bauman, Kommissarov, and many other Czar's spies and gendarmes were and some are now in the Bolshevik Government. Not one workman.

But listen to the voice of Russian labor!

The following appeal, issued by the Workingmen's Delegates arrested by the Bolsheviki and kept in the Tagansky Prison in Moscow fully reflects the sentiment of the masses of the Russian proletariat since the spring of 1918:

"We, the members of the Labor Conference, representing independent working-class organizations of various towns of Russia (Petrograd, Moscow, Tula, Sormovo, Kolomna, Kulebaki, Tver, Nizhni-Novgorod, Vologda, Orel, Votkinski, Zavod), being arrested at our second meeting, on July 23, 1918, in 'Cooperation Hall,' feel it our public duty to protest before all citizens of Russia against the false and calumnious reports published by the Bolshevist Government press on July 27 and 28. The Bolshevist government takes advantage of the fact that it has muzzled the whole independent press and that we, members of the Labor Conference, are locked up in prison under incredible conditions.

"Our Conference was not 'a secret counter-revolutionary plot organized by well-to-do people and intellectuals,' etc., but a public conference of delegates of working-class organizations, which was beforehand known to and discussed by the whole press, including that of the Bolsheviki.

"The delegates were sent to the Conference not by 'Menshevik or Social-Revolutionary groups,' as falsely stated in the Izvestia,* which desires to deceive workmen who have not yet deserted the government, but by assemblies of delegates from works and factories having tens of thousands of electors behind them. The adopted general basis of representation was one delegate for 5,000 workmen. The Izvestia goes so far as to state shamelessly that the delegates, Polikarpoff and Pushkin, sent by the Tula workmen, were elected by 60 to 160 men, whereas they were sent by the Tula assembly, which consisted of delegates elected by the majority of Tula workmen. At places where independent workmen's organizations could not yet be set up, delegates to the Conference were sent by individual big factories.

"Having calumniously described the delegates as impostors who represent nobody, the Izvestia—with the in-

*An official Bolshevik publication.

solence characteristic of the organs of the Tzarist regime —did not stop at giving false information about things found on the arrested delegates in order to cast a shadow on their characters. Thus, it is reported that Comrade Berg was found to be in possession of 6,000 roubles. As a matter of fact he had only 590 roubles. Comrade Leikin is stated to have had 160 roubles, and he had in fact 1 rouble 65 kopeck. The Izvestia further states that on Leikin the following things were found: a ring, diamonds and a gold watch, whereas all his 'jewelry' consisted of an ordinary gun-metal watch, which it did not occur even to the prison warders to take away.

"The Bolshevik government has to resort to stupid, shameless lies to justify the preposterous arrests of the workmen's delegates who dared to show some independent organizing initiative.

"The Conference of workmen's delegates was convened to make arrangements for the convocation of an All-Russian Labor Congress, and had two meetings. The agenda of the Conference included the following items: measures against the disintegration of the working-class movement; what can be done to effect a concentration of its forces and its proper organization; arrangements for the All-Russian Labor Congress. But the Communist Government, just as its Tzarist predecessors, does not tolerate any symptoms of an independent working-class movement, because it is this movement which constitutes a menace to its power. In this movement they see a reflection of the food crisis, and, incapable of solving the State problems which they have before them, they resort to repressive measures directed against the leaders of the working-class movement. Workmen's organizations are subjected to unheard-of persecutions!

"Long live the working-class organizations!

"Long live their independence, their revolutionary and organizing initiative!

"Signed: A. N. Smirnoff, workman of the Cartridge Factory, delegate from Petrograd; N. N. Glieboff, workman at the Poutiloff Works; J. S. Leikin, delegate of the Assembly of Delegates of the Nizhni and Vladimir districts; D. V. Zakharoff, secretary of a trade union; D. I. Matveev, Sormovo; A. A. Vezkaln, carpenter, member of the Executive Committee of the Lettish Social-Democratic Party; I. G. Volkoff, turner, member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Union of Metal Workers; A. A. Chinenkoff, Nizhni; S. P. Polikarpoff, Tula; N. K. Borisenko, Petrograd

Tube Works; V. G. Chirkin, turner, member of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions; Berg, Electrical Works; D. Smirnoff, Arsenal, Petrograd; Victor Alter, delegate of the Executive Committee of the 'Bund' (Jewish Socialist Party); Bushkin, workman of the Tula Small Arms Factory, etc., etc."

In connection with this affair, the following cable was sent by the Central Committees of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and of the "Bund" (Jewish Socialist Party) to the Executive Committees of all Europe and America:

"Forty delegates, elected by workmen of various towns to a conference for the purpose of making arrangements for the convocation of a Labor Congress, have been arrested and committed for trial by the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, created to pass death sentences without the ordinary guaranties of a fair trial. They are falsely and calumniously accused of organizing a counter-revolutionary plot. Among the arrested are the most prominent workers of the Social-Democratic Labor Movement, as, for instance, Abramovitch, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and of the 'Bund,' who is personally well known to many foreign comrades; Alter, member of the Executive Committee of the 'Bund'; Smirnoff, member of last year's Soviet delegation to the Western Countries; Vezkaln, member of the Executive Committee of the Lettish Social-Democratic Party; Volkoff, chairman of the Petrograd Union of Workmen's Co-operative Societies; Zakharoff, secretary of the Petrograd Union of Workmen of Chemical Factories; and other prominent workers of the trade union and co-operative movement.

"We demand the immediate intervention of all Socialist parties to avert the shameful and criminal proceeding."

The well-known revolutionist, Vladimir L. Bourtzev, in his paper "Obscheye Dyelo" (Common Affairs), now printed in Paris, has published the following appeal:

"To all workmen, to all citizens:

"We, twelve prisoners in the Tagansky prison in Mos-

cow, twelve captives of the Bolshevist government, who are considered 'an extraordinary commission fighting the revolution,' we appeal to you, comrades and citizens, from behind the prison walls and bars of our solitary cells, into which we have been thrown by the Lenin government.

"We, laborers and old fighters for the Revolution and participators in the proletarian movement, we prison inmates under the Tzar's regime, we socialists, are deprived of our liberty by a government of 'workmen and peasants,' a government of 'a socialist republic.' "

The appeal describes the way meetings of the peasant deputies in Moscow have been dispersed and arrests made.

"After being searched," the appeal reads, "all of us, 58 people, including 50 laborers, representatives of the proletariat of Moscow, Petrograd and Tula, were driven in automobiles to Loobianka,* to the well-known Extraordinary Commission. We were locked up in an ordinary cell and given nothing to eat until the next morning. During the night each of us, separately, was taken away to be questioned. Our cross-examiners were rough and ignorant people who allowed themselves to ridicule and make fun of some of the laborers and even to threaten them. Some of them asked us whether we recognized the Soviet government. They tried to detect suspected connections with the Czecho-Slovaks and seemed very much interested in their movements. At the cross-examination we were accused of nothing. The nature of the institution before which we were brought for cross-examination, however, betrayed itself in the kind of questions put to some of us. We were asked wehther we conducted any propaganda or tried to find comrades among the other prisoners while waiting for a hearing. (Perhaps they suspected rebellion?) Comrades D. G. Kuchin, K. Strausky and C. G. Rogov, a mechanics' shop worker, were kept in isolation until the next morning, because of suspicion. The general atmosphere of the proceeding was that of the most corrupt espionage.

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*A street in Moscow.

"The chambers of that building in Loobianka were filled with people of most different standing and ages. There were children as well as old people who had been in seclusion for weeks without a hearing and without any accusation. Comrades and Citizens! The government commits the greatest follies. Workmen who are looking for a solution of their difficulties and for help are being subjected to the worst degradation. The government treads upon everything the people have wrung from the Revolution, upon everything that it needs as urgently as it needs air to breathe. The laborers are being deprived of their most sacred right, freedom of assembly, and thus are rendered helpless.

"Our prison slips are marked: 'guilty of counter-revolutionary attempts.' The very fact that we have been arrested and our labor meeting in the socialist club has been dispersed is proof enough of the fact that the present government falsely bears the name of 'government of workmen.' Moreover, tens of similar arrests and dispersions of labor meetings, accompanied by shooting, have taken place.

"As time goes on, this government finds more and more people of the labor class, curiously enough, guilty of counter-revolutionary activities. As a result, the prisons are filled with workmen-socialists as in the times of the old regime.

"The labor class is in danger! The government of the commissaries is opposed to the interests of the proletariat, the democrats, and that of the whole country. We, the twelve captives of the Bolshevist government, who are responsible workingmen-leaders of proletarian organizations and socialist parties, declare that we herewith rightfully protest against our arrest and the atrocious infringement on the laborers' rights to organize—acts committed by the agents of the present monarchistic government on June 13. We protest against the cruel procedure in dealing with the labor class, which, on the brink of the precipice, is clamoring for the rescue of Russia and the laboring classes. We hope that our voices sounding from the prison will be heard by wide circles of the labor class and democrats!

"(Signed) Labor representatives: T. I. Ivanov, from the plant 'Duks,' President of the Labor Convention of June 23; V. S. Strakhin, of the factory 'Liman'; P. P. Pomakhin, of the printing establishment 'Zadrooga'; laborer from the mechanics shop of Nesmieyanov, S. G. Rogov; laborer of the plant 'Bromley,' Y. V. Matrieyev (a miller);

President of the Smelters' Branch of the Professional Union of Metal-Workers, deputy of the laborers from the plant of Briansk, and member of the Briansk Council of Workmen deputies, K. D. Ulyanov; secretary of the All-Russian Labor Union of printers, M. S. Kamermakher-Kefali; member of the central committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, A. R. Troyanovski; member of the Constituent Assembly and of the central committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, G. D. Kuchin; member of the executive committee of the Moscow Soviet of Workmen's Deputies and Secretary of the Moscow committee of the Social-Democratic Party, B. V. Malkin; member of the Social-Democratic organization 'Yedinstvo' ('Unity'), A. D. Berodulin; member of the Social-Revolutionary Party, L. V. Freifeld."

## COLONEL RAYMOND ROBBINS ANSWERED

### British High Commissioner R. H. Bruce-Lockhart versus Colonel Raymond Robbins

Colonel Raymond Robbins, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on March 6th, 1919, defending the Bolsheviki, and telling that the so-called Soviet Government is supported by the majority of the Russian people ("93 per cent"), referred to the British High Commissioner, R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, as fully sharing his (Colonel Robbins') views. "He saw the matter as I did," said Colonel Robbins, "and until the day I left, the British High Commissioner, Mr. R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, and I were in agreement in every move that we made."—(New York Times, March 7th, 1919.)

Colonel Robbins left Russia, according to his testimony, in June, 1918. We are presenting now to the American public the full text of a telegram sent by the British High Commissioner, R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, on November 10, 1918, to the British Foreign Office, with regard to the Bolshevist regime. We reprint this telegram from the White Book on Bolshevism, published by the British Government in London in April, 1919. The parlor-Bolsheviki in the United States can learn a great deal from this document:

"The following points may interest Mr. Balfour:

1. The Bolsheviki have established a rule of force and oppression unequalled in the history of any autocracy.

2. Themselves the fiercest upholders of the right of free speech, they have supressed, since coming into power, every newspaper which does not approve their policy. In this

respect the Socialist press has suffered most of all. Even the papers of the Internationalist Mensheviki, like Martov's, have been suppressed and closed down, and the unfortunate editors thrown into prison or forced to flee for their lives.

3. The right of holding public meetings has been abolished. The vote has been taken away from everyone except the workmen in the factories and the poorer servants, and even amongst the workmen those who dare to vote against the Bolsheviki are marked down by the Bolshevist secret police as counter-revolutionaries, and are fortunate if their worst fate is to be thrown into prison, of which in Russia today it may be truly said, "many go in but few come out."

4. The worst crimes of the Bolsheviki have been against their Socialist opponents. Of the countless executions which the Bolsheviki have carried out a large percentage has fallen on the heads of Socialists who had waged a life-long struggle against the old regime, but who are now denounced as counter-revolutionaries merely because they disapprove of the manner in which the Bolsheviki have discredited Socialism.

5. The Bolsheviki have abolished even the most primitive forms of justice. Thousands of men and women have been shot without even the mockery of a trial, and thousands more are left to rot in the prisons under conditions to find a parallel to which one must turn to the darkest annals of Indian or Chinese history.

6. The Bolsheviki have restored the barbarous methods of torture. The examination of prisoners frequently takes place with a revolver at the unfortunate prisoner's head.

7. The Bolsheviki have established the odious practice of taking hostages. Still worse, they have struck at their political opponents through their women folk. When recently a long list of hostages was published in Petrograd, the Bolsheviki seized the wives of those men whom they could not find and threw them into prison until their husbands should give themselves up.

8. The Bolsheviki who destroyed the Russian army, and who have always been the avowed opponents of militarism, have forcibly mobilized officers who do not share their political views, but whose technical knowledge is indispensable, and by the threat of immediate execution have forced them to fight against their fellow-countrymen in a civil war of unparalleled horror.

9. The avowed ambition of Lenin is to create civil warfare throughout Europe. Every speech of Lenin's is a denunciation of constitutional methods, and a glorification of the doctrine of physical force. With that object in view he is destroying systematically both by execution and by deliberate starvation every form of opposition to Bolshevism. This system of 'terror' is aimed chiefly at the Liberals and non-Bolshevist Socialists, whom Lenin regards as his most dangerous opponents.

10. In order to maintain their popularity with the workingmen and with their hired mercenaries, the Bolsheviki are paying their supporters enormous wages by means of an unchecked paper issue, until today money in Russia has naturally lost all value. Even according to their own figures the Bolsheviki's expenditure exceeds the revenue by thousands of millions of roubles per annum.

These are facts for which the Bolsheviki may seek to find an excuse, but which they cannot deny.

Yours sincerely,

R. H. B. LOCKHART"

(Reprinted from "Struggling Russia")

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# A Bolshevik Propagandist

Mr. Albert Rhys Williams visited Bolshevik Russia armed with a sympathetic heart, enormous gullibility and absolute innocence of any knowledge of Bolshevism, Socialism, Russian language, history, conditions or anything at all that would help him to appraise critically and to form a correct judgment of people and events in Russia. The Russian environment reacted in Mr. Williams' emotions in a peculiar way. Evidently, Mr. Williams landed right in the midst of indescribable commotion and noise —people were running to and fro, gesticulating, yelling, Mr. Williams did not know what; everywhere speakers were exhorting crowds, Mr. Williams did not know what about; everywhere some people were shooting other people, Mr. Williams did not know what for.

The well-known mass psychology, or as some call it, mob spirit, seized upon Mr. Williams's very receptive emotions. He cast aside old Williams. A new Williams was born. He ran with others to and fro; he gesticulated and yelled as others did, only he did in English; he exhorted as others did, only nobody understood him; and finally he, no doubt, shot and killed some people as others did, only he still did not know why.

He plunged head foremost into this whirlpool of burning, scorching words and blazing phrases. Words and phrases became the only reality. Things, facts, conditions became unreal, non-existent. Thundering pronunciamentos proclaimed the Industrial Republic. Promptly to Mr. Williams's emotions, the Industrial Republic became a fact. Russia is an Industrial Republic he declared. He was deaf, dumb and blind to the fact that not one of the factors necessary for the establishment of an Industrial Republic was under the control of the Bolsheviks, or in the program of the Bolsheviks. There was no advanced industrial development. There was no industrial autonomy, nor was it on the Bolshevik program. On the contrary, Lenin proposed, not only a political, but an industrial dictatorship as well; "an unconditional and most severe subordination of the will of thousands to the will of one." Finally, the workers had no experience, traditions or intelligence to furnish a basis for an Industrial Republic. What was going on in Bolshevik Russia was a chaos that beggared description and defied definition. But the phrase was there. That was enough for Mr. Williams. He reported in America that he saw the Industrial Republic in Russia.

Likewise with the Soviets. How should Mr. Williams know that the Soviets were organized by Socialists while the Bolsheviks opposed their organization? How should he know that the Bolsheviks were actually destroying the Soviets as representative bodies? It is true, all this may have happened right before Mr. Williams's eyes. But evidently Mr. Williams's senses and mind were not functioning normally at the time. He bid farewell to sense and reason and gave free rein to emotion.

Mr. Williams saw a proclamation decreeing "Brotherhood of the Toilers of the World." At least, he was told that such was its import. At once, he saw it as a fact. There it was—the Brotherhood in a blaze of glory. And he tells the story in America.

Mr. Williams endowed the world with the reaction of his emotions in Russia in a pamphlet entitled "The Bolsheviks and the Soviets." If Mr. Williams acted sincerely although ignorantly in Russia, in a heat of a revotionary environment, it is quite obvious that his motive has undergone a tremendous change since his return to America. In Russia, Mr. Williams was a neophyte, then a zealot. In America he became a propagandist. And Mr. Williams's propaganda takes as little account of facts and reality as the Bolshevik faith does. Everything comes out of Mr. William's mind distorted by his new psychology. Nothing that he says of Russia is so. But do not jump to a hasty conclusion that Mr. Williams lies. He is only telling a Bolshevik truth. And there is no other truth. Fact, reality, reason must give way before this higher truth. Hegel asserted that only that was real which was reasonable. The Bolsheviks assert that only

that is true which is unreasonable. It is this unreason that stares at you from every statement of Mr. Williams.

So he dicourses grandiloquently of the Bolsheviks and the Soviets as if they belonged to each other, entirely ignoring the fact that the very first thing the Bolshevik government did when it came into power was to disperse the All-Russian Soviet of Workmen and Soldiers' Delegates and also the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Delegates. The Bolsheviks were astute enough to retain the name for business and propaganda purposes.

And Mr. Williams loyally adheres to the Bolshevik methods in his propaganda in America.

Mr. Williams tells us that the delegates to the Soviets "are elected in the shops and unions," and that "at present 95 per cent in Russia can vote." Since over 80 per cent of the Russians are peasants, how they can vote in shops and unions Mr. Williams fails to disclose. Thirty-six million votes were cast for delegates to the Constituent Assembly. Since then, the Bolsheviks refused to permit a general election. Nor was any local election permitted except in Bolshevik shops and among the red guards. Why does Mr. Williams say that "95 per cent in Russia can vote" when not even one per cent were allowed to vote, except the Bolsheviks? The answer is, Mr. Williams is totally irresponsible for any statements he makes before any forum of reason or truth. He is a propagandist possesed with a fixed idea. Mr. Williams is dangerous to the over-emotional and weak-minded. Unfortunately, of these, there are many among us. They should be protected from the insidious unreason and untruths of Mr. Williams.